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75th Year

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# To the Editor

## Pound's 'Cantos'

Sir,—It should be explained, in reply to Richard Boston's letter (Letters, August 13), that the new edition of *The Cantos* which we have recently published consists of sheets of the American edition of the title-page that it is "Printed in the United States of America". There is no small difference: the sheets we have used do not contain the title-page that appears in the New Directions edition as we did not feel certain that these lines were what Pound intended to come at the end of the long poem "W. Pound" that apart from this minor difference the two texts are now identical.

As for *Cantos* 72 and 73, we shall include them if and when they are offered to us by Pound's literary trustees. We are not the initiators in this matter.

PETER DU SAUTOY,  
Faber and Faber, Ltd, 3 Queen's Square, London WC1N 3AU.

## 'Beckford: a Biography'

Sir,—From an advertisement in the *TLS* on July 9 I learn that a book *Beckford: a Biography*, by my late husband, Guy Chapman, being published in America by a firm called Norwood Editions. I am well aware that this book, published here in 1933 by Jonathan Cape, but not published in America, has no copyright protection there. My immediate anxiety is that I know nothing about the Norwood Editions' publication, whether it is well-produced and accurate, or the reverse. I have naturally asked the firm for information, but have had no reply so far.

I would be grateful to anyone who can tell me whether there is anything at all I can do to protect my dead husband's work in these circumstances.

STORM JAMESON,  
11 Larchfield, Gough Way, Cambridge.

## 'A Literature Without Criticism'

Sir,—I would like to raise some points that came to mind when reading "A Literature Without Criticism" by Octavio Paz (August 6). I do not pretend to refute the general thesis of the author, but the fact of critical thinking in Latin America is responsible for the absence in South America of "any indigenous, original, intellectual movement". But if the diagnosis is right, the etiology is wrong. Comparing the American Revolution, and the French Revolution, with the Latin American one, Paz mentions that in the two former cases "there was an organic relationship between revolutionary ideas and the men and classes as well as the ideas and the society in which they were to be realized". In the latter case "the same ideas were a facade put up by the direct heirs of Spanish hierarchical society—the ranch-owners, businessmen, military, clergy and civil servants". According to Paz, Latin America is a "land of dependence, an act of self-deception, as well as of self-negation".

Octavio Paz here is not saying anything new, but just following a well established tradition that sees Latin American intellectuals and artists as just imitators, who are only able to copy the latest intellectual or artistic product produced in Europe. The problem with this idea is that it is sociologically impossible, unless Latin Americans are less than human beings. Every period of written history, we are told, is a period of ideas, beliefs, artistic products, etc., express an underlying social group or class. How could any Latin American be attracted to the new ideas of liberalism without having some real interest to justify or defend with them?

In my opinion, Latin America is no exception to this generalization. The groups and classes in Latin America at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century that were attracted to, and embraced with enthusiasm, the new ideas of economic and political liberalism did so because these ideas justified their vested interests and were a useful instrument in their struggle for power against the old ruling elites of encomenderos, priests, civil servants and military. In fact, they came from the new groups of merchants, ranchers and farmers that emerged during the eighteenth century in the periphery of the old colonies of Mexico and Lima trading with the British. To prosper they needed free trade and a "laissez-faire" state and because of these very real interests they embraced liberal ideas and developed them to a fairly respectable level.

But in Latin America the bourgeois revolution failed, after some initial success, because the challenging group had, on the one hand, not enough social support in the rigidly stratified society inherited from colonial times and, on the other hand, it was simply overruled by the more efficient bourgeoisie of England. As in the United States and in France, the men who were fighting for modern ideas in Latin America in the age of revolutions, were modern men. But Latin American modern men were defeated by the combined force of internal reaction and external pressure, and with them disappeared critical thinking too.

The social history of Chile in the nineteenth century shows this process with particular clarity. The first thirty or forty years of independence are marked by a dynamic bourgeois development and by the emergence of the kind of thinking and literature associated with the bourgeoisie, as epitomized in Bello. Following punctually the western European experience, there also appeared in the country a romantic movement with the names of Francisco Bilbao, José Victorino Lastarria and others. Rising up against "the tyranny of reason" (Bello and his influence). But since the middle of the nineteenth century, the kind of independent development fell under British pressure and a new phase of dependent development began for the country.

Under these conditions groups and classes appeared in the social structure of the country whose interests were represented and promoted by a literature similar to that produced in the dominant country (and in France) at the same time, that was original and not copied, much in the same sense as the works of Ruiz de Alarcón and Juan Valera de la Cruz, representing the interests and the colonial elite and their contributions to literature in Spanish during colonial times.

Critical thinking would certainly not have promoted the interests of the groups and classes thriving on the dependence of the nineteenth century. And this is also true today for all of Latin America. This is

ANTONY BRETT-JAMES's recent books include *Europe Against Napoleon, 1807*, and *Daily Life in Wellington 1807*.  
HUGH BROWN is a Lecturer in History at the University of Essex.  
J. W. BURTON is the author of *Chosroes before Munich, 1973*.  
J. S. CONWAY is the author of *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches, 1933-1945*, 1968.  
BERNARD CRICK's most recent books are *Political Theory and Practice, 1972*, and *Crime, Rape and Go, 1975*.  
R. P. DUNCAN-JONES is the author of *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies, 1974*.  
DENNIS DUNCAN-JONES's books include *Government and Revolution in Vietnam, 1968*.  
D. J. ENRIGHT's most recent collection of poems is *Sol Ires, 1975*.  
BRYAN HALLGARTEN's (Lord Ballantrae) is the author of *The Tempest in the Hall, 1970*, and *Capitulum Nihil, 1972*.

## Royal Bindings

Sir,—In the *TLS* for August 6, page 972, you illustrate "a copy of the United States Constitution, in a binding designed for George III". However, closer inspection of the Royal Arms in the centre of the design reveals that they are not Hanoverian at all, but are in fact the Royal Arms of the Stuart House as used before 1707. Is the binding older than the organizers of the exhibition at Indiana University realize, or could it be confirmation for John Buchanan's old theory of the American colonists' Jacobite leanings?

DIARMAID MACCULLOCH,  
Chorlton College, Cambridge CB3 0DS.

## Stanley Baldwin

Sir,—I should like to explain what your reviewer Kenneth O. Morgan (July 30), and others, of my book on Baldwin have found "cryptic" in my mentioning "the ill consequences of Baldwin's idealism about India". I was thinking of the millions of "so-called" Indians who were massacred as a result of the precipitate granting of independence to India after the war and of the drift more recently of independent India into totalitarianism and rigid censorship. Another result at the time of Baldwin's Bill was to prevent him bringing Churchill into his government because of what I refer to as his "dogma" and "intemperance".

KENNETH YOUNG,  
Beefsteak Club, 9 Irving Street, Leicester Square, London WC2H 7AT.

## Lloyd George

Sir,—I am pleased that Roger Fulford, in his review of *Lloyd George* (July 30), appreciates what is kind enough to call my attention to detail. But I am rather mystified by what then purports to be an example of this, i.e. "the kindly old gentleman, recovering from a severe attack of influenza at Cany-Alyn, came down to dinner, enjoyed a game of cards, went off to find a book from his library and dropped dead".

I really did not put it so crudely as that. What I actually wrote, if your readers will bear with me, was as follows: "On March 19th, apparently quite recovered from a severe attack of influenza, Mr Edmund Swettenham, QC, the kindly old gentleman who had represented Glamorganshire District Boroughs at Westminster for almost four years, left his bedroom and came down to dinner at Cany-Alyn, his home in Rossett, Denbighshire. After enjoying a game of cards he went to bed, and collapsed on the sofa, having been struck down

by a sudden heart attack. By 9.20 that evening he was dead."

Putting the record straight is perhaps a rather pedantic exercise, but I do find it rather irritating to have my text misinterpreted in this casual fashion. (A review in the current number of *The Political Quarterly* quotes no more than one sentence from my book, yet it nevertheless contrives to omit one word and comma where no comma had previously been.)

PETER ROWLAND,  
65 Essex Road, London E10 6EE.

## Evgeny Vinokurov

Sir,—We would like to correct a factual error in D. M. Thomas's perceptive review of our selection and translation of Evgeny Vinokurov's poems, *The War Is Over* (August 6). While it is true, as Mr Thomas points out, that Vinokurov is a (Soviet) emigrant younger than Solzhenitsyn, the title of the volume (taken from one of his poems) alludes to this.

ANTHONY RUDOLF,  
DANIEL WEISSBORT,  
23 Fitzwarren Gardens, London.

## Pope

Sir,—At the time of his death last December, W. K. Wimsatt was collaborating with me on a supplement to his monumental study *The Poems of Alexander Pope*, published in 1965. It is my task to complete the supplement, which will include all "new" Pope poems (poems, drawings, sculpture, etc.) that have come to light since 1965, and will also give, whenever possible, the present ownership and other pertinent details of the poems that have changed hands since then.

I should be most grateful for any information which readers of the *TLS* may have concerning Pope poems that are not recorded in Professor Wimsatt's book or that have acquired a new provenance.

JOHN C. RIELY,  
331B Yale University Library,  
New Haven, Connecticut 06520.

## Among this week's contributors

ANTONY BRETT-JAMES's recent books include *Europe Against Napoleon, 1807*, and *Daily Life in Wellington 1807*.  
HUGH BROWN is a Lecturer in History at the University of Essex.  
J. W. BURTON is the author of *Chosroes before Munich, 1973*.  
J. S. CONWAY is the author of *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches, 1933-1945*, 1968.  
BERNARD CRICK's most recent books are *Political Theory and Practice, 1972*, and *Crime, Rape and Go, 1975*.  
R. P. DUNCAN-JONES is the author of *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies, 1974*.  
DENNIS DUNCAN-JONES's books include *Government and Revolution in Vietnam, 1968*.  
D. J. ENRIGHT's most recent collection of poems is *Sol Ires, 1975*.  
BRYAN HALLGARTEN's (Lord Ballantrae) is the author of *The Tempest in the Hall, 1970*, and *Capitulum Nihil, 1972*.

## Rising Sunstory

By D. J. Enright  
A Treasury of Drinking Pleasures  
357pp. Tokyo: Suntory Ltd.

Twenty-one years ago, in Japan, I was invited to write a few words about the local whisky, Suntory brand, for publicity purposes. Suntory was already co-opted a popular Kabuki actor, a Sumo wrestler, a geisha and other representatives of culture, and they thought it would be nice to include an English poet, on Scotch whisky, blood and rape. There are rather nice stories, featuring alcohol, by Shinichi Hoshi, Ronald Dahl, Leonard Wibberley and Pierre

Japanese whisky on the train to Kyoto among his drinking exploits, the nearest to an ad, asks, "What else but liquor the day seem so blue, the pattern of the stars so brilliant and significant, even the falling of a leaf beautiful and portentous?" George Mikos deals with drink-and-nobility in Britain; sherry is okay, but dry sherry only, and don't ask your host for dry sherry since this implies that he may have sweet sherry in the house.

Alain Robbe-Grillet's "Cérémonie Rituelle" plunges us (as far as one can tell what is going on) into wine, blood and rape. There are rather nice stories, featuring alcohol, by Shinichi Hoshi, Ronald Dahl, Leonard Wibberley and Pierre

That was a long time ago. In those days foreigners working in Japan paid no income tax on the grounds that they were helping a defeated country back on its feet. For long years I was one of the few who had no income tax, and what giant strides the Japanese economy has since made, is brought home by this lush multilingual volume in which tributes of longer length by writers of greater repute are held together between handsome slices of white oak, "the same material as that of the barrels in which Suntory whisky is aged".

Though these pieces first appeared as newspaper advertisements, there is nothing so vulgar here as a special reference to the product. The compilation, which commemorates its golden anniversary, is "An Offering to Bacchus and Muse". Colin Wilson, making more effort than most of the contributors, proposes that whisky was an accidental by-product of a Scottish alchemist's search for the elixir of life. John Updike writes a piece written under the influence of alcohol.

Alec Waugh expatiates further on his love of Burgundy (the wine), while John Cheever, who lists

Brussels haecumalia; this café advertisement is reproduced in Bevis Hillier's *Travel Posters* (96 plates, 66 in colour, £4.50), the latest in the Phaidon Giant Paperback series.

the vineyards of the north

By Edmund Penning-Rowell

S. F. HALLGARTEN:  
German Wines  
327pp. Faber, £15.

It is a curious fact that most books on wine intended for the general reader have been written by amateurs, and Anglo-Saxon amateurs at that. Such names as Henderson, George Saintsbury, Morton Shand and Maurice Healy come to mind; and this tradition has been maintained to this day. But not for German wines. Here the authors of any account have been professional wine merchants, including the late Fritz Langenbach, Otto Loeb and Fritz Hallgarten, who has written no fewer than three books on German wine. All three authors were émigrés from Germany.

The reasons for this gentlemanly distinction in vinous writing between the rest of the wine world and Germany are probably twofold: a lack outside the country of knowledge and experience of the extensive range of German wines, and their forbidding complexity. One has only to look back at Christie's wine auction catalogues from early in the nineteenth century to the eve of the Second World War to find how vineyard Rhines and Moselles were rarely listed. Indeed, the only two of any wide repute here in England were Schloss Johannisberg and Steinberg, Nor, considering the

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## Bitter reckoning

By D. A. N. Jones  
RICHARD BOSTON:  
Beer and Skittles  
221pp. Collins. £3.50.

When Richard Boston told me a few years ago, that he proposed to start a beer column in *The Guardian*, I laughed—rather as I did when I first saw a news headline about "Illegal Pakistanis". But it turned out to be serious: some people really do think that Pakistanis are somehow illegal, and Boston was quite serious about his beer column. We were in a fake-German beer-cellar in the West End, drinking expensive draught beer, and Boston was questioning the bar staff about their costly sausages, like a consumerist. His column has been a remarkable success, of strong sociological interest: it is well-known that when civil servants and local government officers go to seaside conferences they seek out public houses owned by the brewers recommended by Mr Boston or by the Campaign for Real Ale.

Mr Boston's relationship with CAMRA is illuminated by this useful and entertaining book, based on his *Guardian* column. At one point, he admits that

the more doctrinaire members of CAMRA have at times shown the fanaticism of religious demagogues. . . . At times it has seemed that CAMRA's sole interest was in means of dispensing. It has been said that some of the members would drink castor oil if it came from a hand pump. . . .

On the other hand, he asserts that when CND was in the early 1960s, CAMRA has been in the mid-1970s. . . . CND could not prevent the Cuba crisis, but it did make sure that every nursing mother knew what Stronach's 50 was on a different plane. CAMRA could not stop the Barnsley Brewery being closed down, but at least every self-respecting beer-drinker now knows the difference between keg and traditional fast beer.

The argument does, indeed, seem to be on a different plane. But a small matter of plain living can be significant in the world of high thinking.

Among those to whom Mr Boston offers thanks, is his acknowledged mentor, the well-known veteran of the Spanish Civil War, C. O. Jones. I am not sure whether he is closely related to another member of our

family, unemployed in *The Hitchcock* by Lee Gibb (1976). I must be remembered that Lee Gibb had published, in 1970, *The Joneses: How to Keep up with Them*, and in this sequel, he explained how the Higher Jones had managed to ruin the middle-class attitude to beer and pubs by removing spontaneity and insisting upon rules and know-how. The HJ was, it seems, hostile to the wine-snob who then proliferated.

Concurrently with his campaign to take the prestige out of wine-drinking, he was running another campaign to put prestige into beer-drinking. . . . The pubs have become mechanized. The cellars have been refrigerated, and glass pipelines have been laid to the push-button taps which have replaced the old signal-box drawing-handles. Little kegs of special beer, each one with its own ratchet-jack of coloured plastic, have appeared on modernized bar-counters. Aluminium has overtaken the cooper's art.

The Higher Jones, back in 1961, had adopted a Lucky Jim attitude towards wine: "Although he does not care how a wine is stored . . . he is very keen on the question of how beer should be kept. . . . Of course it should be kept in a cool, dark place, but what degree of coolness should be used, and with what substance, the pipes should be cleaned. . . . The whole thing, for better or worse, seems to have started from dissension between sects of the middle and upper-middle class, particularly from inveterate snobbery directed against the readers of wine columns. . . . The current fashion is to hold on to that concern about the details of beer maintenance, in a spirit of conservatism and love of craftsmanship, but to reject the white heat of technology sponsored by the Higher Jones in the 1960s.

Another difference between Mr Boston and the Higher Jones is in the matter of bar layout. Lee Gibb remarked that "the system of public-house drinking is a class system. There is the public bar for peasants, pouters, navvies and old, shambling men who collect the glasses in return for a drink. There is the private bar for elderly women to drink gin, port and stout in feathered boots. There is the saloon bar for men who have just been humbled, shocked or evicted from tenancy. . . . But there was no bar for the Higher Jones, 'the classless man, who therefore had the parties taken down, so that there was but one circular bar, where peasant, harridan and squire could mingle. . . . Now, Mr Boston wants all those partitions put back: 'these divisions and subdivisions give the pub its feeling of comfort. It is social comfort rather than physical.' He regards them as an escape-route: 'There are two ways of handling pub-boredom. One is to escape to another bar (this is one of the arguments in favour of a pub having more than one bar. . . .) I have a feeling, after reading this witty and informative book, that beer and pubs have become more beautiful than they used to be, more likely to lead one into social contretemps and battles, Bateman situations—almost as wine-drinking used to, in the 1950s and 1960s, before all those delightful white-bar springs up, all over the country.

When I wrote that sentence, I was thinking of H. M. Bateman, the cartoonist of social embarrassment, and imagining a caption like 'The man who asked for Watney's on a CAMRA tour of Wandsworth'. But I have since discovered a brewer called Bateman's—mentioned in the Lincolnshire section of the 1976 *Good Beer Guide*: 'Boston has an excellent choice of pubs serving real ale, including several Bateman's houses'.

Cyril and Elizabeth Ray's *Wine with Food* (1976), Sidgwick and Jackson, £3.50) consists of discursive essays on varying types of alcoholic drink, followed by concise recipes on how to employ such drinks in the kitchen. The Master, as it were, sits upstairs, mostly in the dining-room, dispensing information and reminiscence to all who come to him, and no one today discusses more agreeably and readably on this subject, albeit with a distinctly Edwardian turn of phrase, Iaced with a little radecism. Then below stairs the wine-cook, with what wines and spirits she has managed to salvage or steal from the decanters on the sideboard. Some of her dishes, such as mackerel cakes and macaroons, are designed to accompany rather than include wine. The information and advice is sensible, nonpretentious and good humoured throughout.

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HARVESTER PRESS

## The vineyards of the north

By Edmund Penning-Rowell  
S. F. HALLGARTEN:  
German Wines  
327pp. Faber, £15.

It is a curious fact that most books on wine intended for the general reader have been written by amateurs, and Anglo-Saxon amateurs at that. Such names as Henderson, George Saintsbury, Morton Shand and Maurice Healy come to mind; and this tradition has been maintained to this day. But not for German wines. Here the authors of any account have been professional wine merchants, including the late Fritz Langenbach, Otto Loeb and Fritz Hallgarten, who has written no fewer than three books on German wine. All three authors were émigrés from Germany.

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## Survival in the soft sphere

By David Kirby

JOHN P. VOYANTES:

*Silk Glove Hegemony: Finnish-Soviet Relations, 1944-1974: A Case Study of the Theory of the Soft Sphere of Influence*  
205pp. Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. \$10.

KELJO KORHONEN (Editor):

*Urho Kekkonen: A Statesman for Peace*  
186pp. Heinemann. £6.50.

Finland's foreign policy, we are told by Keljo Korhonen, is synonymous with Kekkonen's foreign policy. This unequivocal editorial pronouncement is underlined by one of Professor Korhonen's former colleagues in the Finnish Foreign Ministry, who claims: "Since the end of the Second World War Kekkonen's thinking about relations with the Soviet Union has become Finland's foreign policy. It has frequently been misunderstood and misinterpreted."

I have a shrewd suspicion that the last sentence is meant for foreign pundits such as John P. Voyantes, who dare to suggest, as does Professor Voyantes on page 186 of *Silk Glove Hegemony*, that "Finland resigned itself to becoming a pro-Soviet buffer state" in 1948. For Professor Voyantes, Finland is a case study of his theory of soft spheres of influence.

As far as I can judge, the main features of the soft sphere, as opposed to the hard sphere of influence such as that wielded by the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe, is that the "hegemon" exercises indirect influence, respecting the sovereignty of the "sphere state", accepting that the relationship offers reciprocal advantages, and is clothed in a "technique" which links the two states in common purpose and ideals. Professor Voyantes believes the Finnish-Soviet relationship can be properly described in these terms. He argues that security, rather than ideology, prompted the Soviet Union in 1944-48 to choose the soft rather than the hard sphere of influence as a means of dominating Finland. He maintains that the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Treaty of 1948 does offer reciprocal advantages, which have become more evident since the dysfunctional crises of the period 1958-61.

This is undoubtedly true; but it must be said that this is so only because the Soviet Union chooses to adopt this line in regard to Finland. The Soviet Union remains the hegemonic power in much the same way as pre-1945 Germany dominated Denmark, a point made by the foreign affairs editor of *Berlinsche Tidende* in the festschrift to Kekkonen. Having obtained security on her vulnerable north-western frontier through the military clauses of the 1948 treaty, the Soviet Union can also reap the benefit of peaceful coexistence with Finland.

Trust and friendship assure the Finns of the goodwill of the Soviet Union, but they also provide the Soviet leaders with a valuable propaganda weapon. Moreover, the Soviet Union is still free to pursue other foreign policy objectives, such as the policy of détente with the West, without being forced to base her entire foreign policy on her relationship with her unlikely neighbour, and has been courted in the past decade by the terms of the 1948 treaty, which among other things obliges Finland not to forge ties with alliances or blocks directed against the Soviet Union. The price for Moscow's consent to a Finnish agreement with the EEC countries, Professor Voyantes maintains, was a package including technical and economic co-operation with the Soviet Union; a collateral agreement with Comecon; plus a premature extension of the 1948 treaty for a further twenty years and an assurance of the continuance in presidential office of Kekkonen. In the case of the Nordic discussions, the heavy withdrawal of Finland in 1970 was

preliminary discussions were near their conclusion would seem to indicate a rather belated recognition by the Finns of Soviet disapproval.

The point which needs emphasis here, and is not made clear in Professor Voyantes's book, is that since the 1948 treaty determines the framework of Finnish foreign policy and provides Finland with what Voyantes calls a "qualified neutrality"—since should the treaty be activated, Finland will find herself an ally of the Soviet Union—it is not possible for Finland to develop her neutrality other than within the framework of the treaty. This is a tautological situation which a number of Finnish commentators have seemed unwilling to accept. Max Jakobson in his study of Finnish-Soviet relations was placed on a new footing as a result of the 1961 "Note Crisis", in that the Soviet government supposedly acknowledged that it was up to Finland to initiate consultations should the threat of armed attack as specified in Article 1 of the 1948 treaty be deemed to exist. It has also been claimed that the Soviet Union regards Finland as a neutral country desirous of remaining outside the conflicting interests of the great powers. In other words, there has been a tendency to stress the preamble of the 1948 treaty and to gloss over the obligations incumbent upon Finland, which are specified in the military articles. President Kekkonen himself has bluntly reminded the Finns that they must not build hopes on the preamble; the treaty must be understood in its entirety. More recently, the Jakobson line has been criticized in much the same manner by a Soviet commentator, Yuri Komissarov.

Jakobson's view of Finnish neutrality, expressed in the present volume of essays, is that it is designed to overcome the latent contradiction between Finland's "ideological affinities" and strategic realities. It is this contradiction which, he explains, has led to a "contractual arrangement" between Finland and the Soviet Union "defining in advance their behaviour in the event that Finnish neutrality is violated". The 1948 treaty, in his view, merely states explicitly what is implicit in the relationship between other neutral states and the Western powers. This is rather like defending an illicit sexual relationship by claiming that everyone else is doing the same but not letting on. Furthermore, the 1948 treaty explicitly states that Finland, true to its obligations as an independent state, will defend its territorial integrity should it be the object of armed attack by Germany or any state allied with the latter. There is no mention of Finnish neutrality, violated or otherwise. As President Kekkonen himself observed in 1972: "We cannot afford to indulge in self-deception, underestimating the political facts of life, and thereby assuming that our neutrality has a guarantee that is binding in international law." Kekkonen's own view of Finnish neutrality would seem to be more cautious than that of his subordinates who formerly held high diplomatic office.

Both books under review deserve a mixture of praise and criticism. Professor Voyantes's study is perceptive and lucid, when he allows himself to escape from the dogma of contractualism. His analysis of certain aspects of Soviet-Finnish relations are very good, but his insistence that the main purpose of history is as a source of raw material from which to fashion theoretical constructs not only leaves him open to the accusation of selectivity but also confines him to the straitjacket of his own model. More seriously, he has tied few Finnish or Soviet sources other than in translation and seems unfamiliar with the work of other Finnish specialists such as Ulrich Wagner and Katarina Brodin.

The collection of essays, edited by Keljo Korhonen, covers a wide range of opinion and provides a great deal of interesting information, as well as an insight into the mind of a man who seems destined to be the mainstay of Finland's foreign policy for a further twenty years and an assurance of the continuance in presidential office of Kekkonen. In the case of the Nordic discussions, the heavy withdrawal of Finland in 1970 was

French heads of small oriental or Black Sea states to the critical appraisals of the Dane, Werner Haegerup, and the Swede, Krister Wahlbäck.

Unfortunately, Wahlbäck's original text has been emasculated in translation, and Brundland's long piece on Kekkonen and the Nordic Balance, a central issue in Finnish foreign policy, has been utterly ruined by what appears to have been a badly programmed translating computer. Since *Urho Kekkonen* is clearly intended to further Finland's official image in the Anglo-Saxon world, it is particularly lamentable that those who inspired the volume did not take the trouble to present it in an acceptable form. Not only is the translation bad; it also offers different versions of Kekkonen's key speeches. Thus, we read on page 40 that in 1952 Kekkonen apparently said: "With this viewpoint in mind, a desirable consequence of the Mutual Assistance Pact between Finland and the Soviet Union would have been consideration of a neutral union of the Nordic countries," while on page 91 he is recorded as saying: "Therefore it would have been possible to consider a defensive alliance of the Nordic countries as a logical extension of the Mutual Assistance Pact between Finland and the Soviet Union." Perhaps Heinemann, whose 1970 collection of Kekkonen's speeches offers a third version of this sentence, intend to publish a new volume of the type popular in Scandinavia, entitled "What Kekkonen really said."

There are a number of absurdities elsewhere in this book. Lapland would appear to have neutralized roads (page 94), and the twenty-five years since 1948 are described on page 90 as a "good quarter century". Why Kekkonen's 1952 speech is called the "Pyramet speech" (or, according to page 99, the "Pyramet speech") remains a mystery. There are a number of other references to incidents which may be first-hand knowledge to the Finnish public, but not to the English reader. There is no explanation of what the "Zavovo" (Zavovo 22 speech) means. There are a number of other references to incidents which may be first-hand knowledge to the Finnish public, but not to the English reader. There is no explanation of what the "Zavovo" (Zavovo 22 speech) means. There are a number of other references to incidents which may be first-hand knowledge to the Finnish public, but not to the English reader. There is no explanation of what the "Zavovo" (Zavovo 22 speech) means.

## The voice of the Vatican

By J. S. Conway

*Le Saint Siège et les victimes de la Guerre: Janvier-Décembre 1943*  
687pp. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. L14,000.

The year 1943 was the most perilous in the recent history of the papacy. The overthrow of Mussolini's Fascist regime led to the seizure of Rome by German troops, and the consequent enticement of the Vatican, for the following nine months, the Pope and Curia were in imminent danger of being captured, deported or worse. If Hitler's violent threats to wreak vengeance on the Catholic Church were carried out, Switzerland by German troops and infiltrated by German agents, the Vatican nevertheless stood firm, despite these intimidating circumstances, to help the victims of the war, especially the prisoners, refugees and Jews.

The latest volume of documents from the Vatican's wartime archives follows volumes 6 and 7, in which the earlier stages of the plight of these victims were described. Edited by the same scholarly team, these documents show how well-informed the Vatican was in its dealings with the German authorities, and the extent of the Vatican's efforts to help the victims of the war, especially the prisoners, refugees and Jews.

1943 also brought innumerable and conclusive reports of the atrocities inflicted upon the populations under Nazi control. Rumours of the death of Pope Pius XII, already reached Rome in October 1942. By 1943, rumour had turned to certainty. In May the terrible fate of the Jews exterminated in gas-chambers was reported. In October the SS seized 3,000 Jews in Rome itself and carried them off to an unknown destination. Almost daily, appeals to intervene on behalf of Jewish victims reached the Vatican from all quarters of the Continent. And as the tide of war engulfed Italy, the fate of the thousands of prisoners among his own countrymen was a constant concern to the Pope, adding fervour to his pleas for the protection of Italy's cities, as already outlined in previous volumes.

The Vatican was well aware that its assistance to these victims would be immediately jeopardized if it departed from its stance of strict neutrality. In fact, the increasing pressures to denounce the German atrocities against the Jews conflicted with the need to keep open the channels of relief for the prisoners of war. Public protests, the Vatican felt, would lead to worse reprisals. Even diplomatic interventions could endanger the families and relatives of the victims. If the Nazis took offence at them, the refusal of the Germans to soften their treatment of the Jews was absolute. The Vatican's efforts to help the victims of the war, especially the prisoners, refugees and Jews, were thus limited by the need to maintain its neutrality.

French pressure, could only be ratified after a French-Czechoslovak agreement had been signed. While acknowledging the value of Prague's strict neutrality in the Ruhr conflict and regularly cold-shouldering the Sudeten German nationalists, Berlin always held Czechoslovakia at arm's length because that "upstart" among states prevented the installation of German economic preponderance over central Europe.

The author correctly describes Beneš's opposition to the German-Austrian Customs Union project of 1934, but he has failed to stress Beneš's active support of Germany's admittance to the League of Nations under conditions acceptable in Berlin, the suggestion of the German General Staff to entrust Beneš with the presidency of the Disarmament Conference so that he could act as an intermediary between Paris and Berlin, and Beneš's counter-project to the Customs Union, namely a regional free trade agreement between Germany, France, Czechoslovakia and Austria. Likewise the fact could have been underlined that Beneš never wanted to be regarded as a vassal of France and that he, for example, tried to mediate between Britain and France at the Geneva Conference (1932).

Much interesting light is shed by the book on the British attitude to developments in central Europe. Beneš's "pactomania" was ridiculed by Ramsay MacDonald with the remark "Beneš is fond of treaties"—but the Geneva Protocol of 1924 was, after all, MacDonald's brainchild, and Beneš's country the only one to ratify it before it was abandoned by Baldwin. For Austria Chamberlain again Beneš "set capable de tout—and quite unworthy".

Sir Joseph Addison, British minister in Prague, found apropos of the Customs Union project that "the German exercises the art of diplomacy as the bear understands dancing. In both cases the operation is painful, slow, clumsy and ineffectual". In the author's view Addison, a severe critic of Prague's policy, has "enlivened the dull days of bureaucrats (in the Foreign Office) with half-truths and personal prejudices", only making the case for closer collaboration with the Czechs an "arrant prig... suffering from persecution mania". One cannot disagree with Gregory Campbell's shrewd observation that "the Versailles system, and with it the security of the Czechoslovak Republic (Czechoslovakia was the first foreign ally of the Czechs), was destroyed more fully by Beneš's allies than by his enemies, and the destruction was in process before Hitler controlled Germany".

releasing information on the thousands of prisoners in their hands.

In these depressing circumstances, the Vatican concentrated its efforts on those governments still susceptible to papal influence. In Slovakia the Vatican protested strongly and successfully against a threatened removal of Jewish deportations. In Romania, the papal nuncio secured ameliorations of conditions for all the Jews, not merely for the baptized Catholics. In Yugoslavia, several hundred Jews were rescued from the Nazis, while in Italy itself papal pressure added to Mussolini's reluctance to fall in with the German plans. In Turkey, the nuncio, later Pope John XXIII, successfully assisted the efforts of Jewish relief agencies to secure freedom for Jews from the Balkans, as a number of letters of gratitude testify. On the other hand, the Vatican was no more enthusiastic about the Zionist plan for bringing about the Jews to Palestine than were the British mandatory authorities. Such a utopian plan would be, as Cardinal Maglione, the secretary of state, wrote, "a poor reply to the Jewish relief agencies' need for this charitable care, and the heart-rending disappointments countered by the Church's duties, as described in these documents, demonstrated the weakness of the strength and the willingness of the Vatican's efforts to relieve the suffering of war during these dark twelve months.

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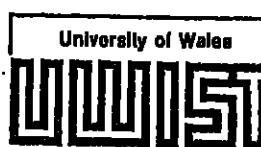
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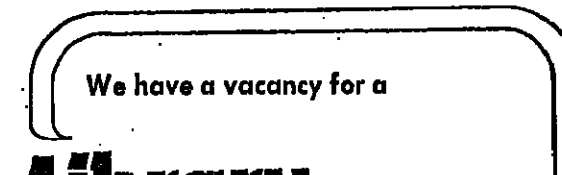
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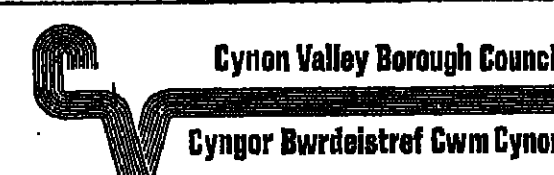
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